

Message Text

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FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4122

S E C R E T GENEVA 9818

NODIS

DEPT PASS THE SECRETARY'S PARTY IN BRUSSELS

FOR AMB SCHAUFLE FROM WISNER

DEPT PASS LONDON FOR SEITZ

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR RH UK

SUBJECT: RHODESIA CONFERENCE: ANYAOKU URGES TABLING OF NEW
SETTLEMENT PACKAGE

1. I LUNCHEDED WITH COMMONWEALTH (NIGERIAN) OBSERVER
ANYAOKU AND ASKED HIM WHAT IDEAS HE WANTED ME TO
TAKE TO LONDON THIS WEEKEND. REITERATING THE POINTS
HE HAD TO ASST. SECRETARY REINHARDT LAST WEEK,
(GENEVA 9621) ANYAOKU STRESSED THAT IF THE CONFERENCE IS
TO ACHIEVE ANYTHING, IT MUST SURMOUNT THE DIFFERENCES
BETWEEN SMITH'S CONCEPTION OF INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND
THOSE OF THE NATIONALISTS. SMITH'S POSITION, WHICH
THE NATIONALISTS CAN IN NO WAY ACCEPT, IS THAT
POWER DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD MUST BE SHARED ON
THE BASIS OF PARITY, INDEED WITH SMITH HAVING A
SLIGHT EDGE. THE PERCEPTION INCREASINGLY SHARED
BY THE NATIONALISTS IN GENEVA, HE SAID, IS THAT THE
UNITED STATES, CONTRARY TO ITS STATED PRINCIPLES,
ACTUALLY BELIEVES THAT WHITES MUST HAVE EQUAL IF NOT
DOMINANT POWER DURING THE TRANSITION. THE US, HE
SAID, HAS AN OPPORTUNITY TO PROVE THIS PERCEPTION
INCORRECT BY SUPPORTING A NEW SETTLEMENT PACKAGE THAT

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ENVISAGES BRITAIN ASSUMING SOME OF THE POWERS NOW

HELD BY SMITH AND HOLDING THESE POWERS "IN TRUST"
DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD.

2. I EMPHASIZED THAT THERE WAS NO BASIS WHATSOEVER
FOR QUESTIONING THE US COMMITMENT TO MAJORITY RULE IN
ZIMBABWE, AND THAT WE WILL DO EVERYTHING IN OUR POWER
TO ENSURE AN IRREVERSIBLE TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE.
THE NATIONALIST DEMAND FOR IMMEDIATE MAJORITY RULE,
HOWEVER, WAS BOTH UNACCEPTABLE AND UNWORKABLE. BY
REJECTING OUT OF HAND THE CONCEPT OF A COUNCIL OF STATE,
THE NATIONALISTS HAD FAILED TO EXAMINE HOW ACTUAL
POWER WITHIN A TWO-TIER STRUCTURE COULD SET OUT TO
PROTECT THEIR INTERESTS AND THE IRREVERSABILITY
OF THE PROCESS.

3. ANYAOKU BELIEVES THAT A NEW PACKAGE WHICH CONTAINS
BRITISH RESPONSIBILITIES IS NEVERTHELESS NECESSARY
AND THAT IT CAN BE PUT TOGETHER HERE IN GENEVA AND
SUCCESSFULLY PRESENTED TO THE NATIONALISTS NEXT WEEK,
AFTER IT HAS BEEN QUICKLY RUN BY THE FRONT LINE
PRESIDENTS WHOM HE BELIEVES WOULD ENDORSE IT.
THE OBJECT WOULD NOT BE TO GET AGREEMENT ON THE
PACKAGE BEFORE THE CONFERENCE ADJOURNS FOR THE
HOLIDAYS, BUT RATHER TO TABLE A PROPOSAL THAT
WOULD ADJOURN THE CONFERENCE ON A POSITIVE NOTE AND
THUS PROVIDE THE BASIS AND MOMENTUM FOR
RECONVENING AFTER CHRISTMAS. THIS IS THE MESSAGE
THAT OBASANJO HAS ASKED COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY
GENERAL RAMPHAL TO CONVEY TO THE SECRETARY IN
LONDON (GENEVA 9784).

4. ANYAOKU SAID THAT ONE SHOULD NOT TAKE TOO SERIOUSLY
THE NATIONALISTS' DEMANDS FOR A COMPLETE AND
UNCONDITIONAL TRANSFER OF POWER TO THEM AT THE START
OF THE INTERIM PERIOD, NOR THEIR PRESENT OPPOSITION
TO A MEANINGFUL BRITISH PARTICIPATION IN THE TRANSITION.
EVEN A MODIFIED TWO TIERED STRUCTURE MIGHT PROVE TO BE NEGO-
TIABLE. THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS, HE SAID, ARE READY TO
PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN BRINGING NATIONALISTS TO
ACCEPT AN ALTERNATIVE FRAMEWORK. FOR A NEW PACKAGE
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TO BE ACCEPTABLE, HOWEVER, IT MUST REDEFINE THE PURPOSE
OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD AND GET AWAY FROM THE TERM,
THOUGH NOT THE CONCEPT, OF POWER SHARING. AS
PRESENTLY UNDERSTOOD BY THE NATIONALISTS, THE IDEA OF
POWER SHARING CONNOTES SMITH'S CONCEPT OF PARITY,
WHICH THE NATIONALISTS REGARD AN ANATHEMA. WE SHOULD
INSTEAD BEGIN TO TALK ABOUT THE INTERIM PERIOD AS
ONE IN WHICH ESTABLISHED MECHANISMS WILL SET IN

MOTION AN IRREVOCABLE TRANSFER OF POWER FROM THE MINORITY TO THE MAJORITY.

5. ANYAOKU WANTED TO LEAVE NO DOUBT, HOWEVER, THAT EVEN AT THE OUTSET OF THE TRANSITION, THE MAJOR SHARE OF POWER WOULD HAVE TO BE IN AFRICAN HANDS. PICKING UP A METAPHOR I HAD USED EARLIER IN THE CONFERENCE, ANYAOKU SAID THAT IF POWER COULD BE DIVIDED EQUALLY INTO TEN BOTTLES, SIX OF THESE WOULD GO TO THE NATIONALISTS. "THE QUESTION IS, WHICH FOUR BOTTLES WOULD IT BE BEST FOR THE NATIONALISTS NOT TO DRINK AT THE OUTSET WITH BRITAIN SERVING AS THE TOAST-MASTER." IN MORE CONVENTIONAL TERMS, WHAT POWERS WOULD IT BE NECESSARY TO LEAVE IN WHITE HANDS IN ORDER TO ALLAY THEIR UNDERSTANDABLE FEARS, AND WHICH SHOULD BE DELEGATED TO THE BRITISH TO BE HELD IN TRUST DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD.

6. IN TERMS OF STRUCTURE, ANYAOKU SUGGESTED THE NEW PACKAGE MIGHT RETAIN SOME RESEMBLANCE TO THE TWO-TIER STRUCTURE BY SUBSTITUTING FOR SMITH'S PROPOSED COUNCIL OF STATE A BRITISH COMMISSIONER OR GOVERNOR GENERAL WHO WOULD ACT IN CONSULTATION WITH AN AS YET UNNAMED ADVISORY BODY, SUCH AS A PRIVY COUNCIL OR NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL. DEFINITION AND ELABORATION OF THE ACTUAL STRUCTURE COULD BE WORKED ON DURING THE RECESS AND AGREED UPON WHEN THE CONFERENCE RECONVENES. BY TABLING THE NEW PACKAGE NEXT WEEK, AND BY GETTING THE SUPPORT OF THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS IN ADVANCE, ANYAOKU BELIEVES IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO ADJOURN THE CONFERENCE ON A POSITIVE NOTE AND ENSURE ITS RECONVENING AFTER CHRISTMAS.

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7. I TOLD ANYAOKU THAT WHILE THERE WERE TACTICAL ADVANTAGES IN THE APPROACH HE SUGGESTED, I WAS NEVERTHELESS CONCERNED ABOUT THE CHANCES THAT A NEW PACKAGE, IF TABLED NEXT WEEK, WOULD BE REJECTED OUT OF HAND. IF THIS WERE TO HAPPEN, ANYAOKU'S HOPES OF ENDING THE CONFERENCE ON A POSITIVE NOTE WOULD BE DESTROYED, AND RECONVENING THE CONFERENCE MIGHT PROVE IMPOSSIBLE. I ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER THE SHORT TIME REMAINING TO GET A NEW PACKAGE ASSEMBLED IN LONDON, ENDORSED IN AFRICA, AND PRESENTED IN GENEVA. CATTO

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